

The PUBLIC



Honor the Warrior, Not the War

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by Joseph Miller



VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR (VVAW) always organizes under the above slogan, during Memorial Day or Veterans Day events in cities like Chicago, or through participation in national and international demonstrations such as this past February 15 and the veteran-organized "Operation

Dire Distress" in Washington, D.C. of March 22-24.

Since 1967, when we organized against "our" war while it was still being fought, we demand "Support the Troops - Bring Them Home!" So, contrary to the media mythology out there, these are not new sentiments, not even "fringe" sentiments, inside the peace movement in this country. The peace movement in the United States recognizes that GIs and reservists, our brothers and sisters, are our natural allies, as Dave Dellinger advocated in 1966:

In a sensible world it would be obvious that there is a natural alliance of sympathy and common interest between the men whose lives and limbs are threatened in a dishonest and unnecessary war and those who are trying to bring that war to an end.

The veterans' movement, now including Veterans for Peace, Gulf War Veterans for Common Sense and Veterans Against the Iraq War, has fought for peace, social justice and veterans' benefits consistently since the late 1960s. With every war, new veterans are recruited to this movement, as they come to recognize that the ideals that took them into military service have been betrayed by the political and economic elites who make policy. Most of us were these idealistic young men or women who enlisted into the service and were not drafted. We were "educated" to believe that our country was always in the right, and each successive generation of veterans has had to learn the hard way that this is seldom, if ever, true.

This, then is the historical and experiential basis for a contemporary veterans' movement in opposition to the Bush Doctrine of continuous imperial wars. We know how easy it is to get sucked in by the military machine, especially when there do not seem to be many other opportunities out there for young people who really want to serve their country and its people. We also know how ready and willing the politicians are to hide or ignore the complete costs of military conflict, from Agent Orange and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) through to the Gulf War Syndrome from the last adventure in Iraq.

As the Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld "axis of evil" sent young men and women to fight and die in an illegal war against Iraq, they were trumpeting the notion that "real" support for the troops meant to just shut up. At the very same time, the Republican-dominated House Budget Committee was "supporting" the troops by their attempt to cut veterans' benefits by some \$25 billion over the next ten years. How many people were able to see the hypocrisy in this move? Did the mainstream media even mention it at the time?

Not until the veterans' movement, both traditional and progressive wings, began to make noise did this become an embarrassment for Bush and his cronies in Congress. In a recent article in The New York Times concerning the passage of a \$79 billion budget for the Iraq war, it is noted, "To



Graphic by Sandra Ahten

get a deal with the Senate, the House also agreed to spend \$100 million on health care for Iraq war veterans that the administration did not request." (NYT, 4/13/2003) So far, nothing more is being said about the attempt to cut billions from health care programs for thousands of veterans from World War II through Gulf War I. Could it be that they are just waiting for the smoke to clear, for the flags and the yellow ribbons to be put away, before they try again?

And, make no mistake; there will be serious health issues coming out of this war, given the cavalier attitude of the Bush administration toward the use of weapons that contained depleted uranium. They even refuse to clean up the battlefield, arguing that depleted uranium poses no health risks to the GIs or to the local residents. (BBC, 4/14/2003)

Major Doug Rokke, a veteran of both Vietnam and Gulf War I, has long fought against the effort to cover-up the health costs of war. As a veteran and a victim of the effects of depleted uranium, he has been a consistent voice, going back to the aborted efforts to clean up the war theater in the early 1990s. In an interview with Al-Jazeera on this issue, Doug responded to a question concerning the lies coming out of the Pentagon: "The reason that they lie is to avoid any liability for the deliberate use of uranium munitions not only in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, throughout the Balkans and throughout all the sites in the United States. Again the purpose of the war is to kill and to destroy. Uranium munitions are absolutely destructive."

(Al-Jazeera, 4/14/2003)

We should also be prepared for veterans of this latest war to come home with serious mental and behavioral issues derived from post-traumatic stress disorder. They shall join veterans from previous wars in this category, and we have already witnessed increased stress levels among earlier generations of veterans. On April 11, the Chicago Tribune published a report, which stated "Across the country, visits to Veterans Affairs counseling centers have spiked over the past several weeks, as Gulf war vets experience flashbacks, nightmares, waves of depression and panic attacks, officials report."

Pay close attention to the reports coming out of the war theater about troops feeling "anguish" or "remorse" concerning their involvement in Bush's war. What will these young people come home to? Will the planned welcome home parades with rivers of red, white and blue make them feel better? How ready will they be to talk about their experiences and the real feelings they have about participation in this popular, but illegal, war? Who will be there to listen to them?

As with the previous Gulf War, the veterans' peace and justice movement will be here to provide counsel and support and a place to get active for these men and women.

The larger peace and social justice movement should also be preparing for this. While the government and many in the larger society will forget all about their "support" for the troops, once the war is "won" and "Johnny [and Jane] come marching home," we in the peace and social justice movement must embrace these victims of Bush's policy. The men and women in uniform are just as assuredly victims as are those innocent men, women and children killed in Iraq, and if we are to build a broad movement for serious and fundamental social change, we must recognize all victims of this corrupt system.

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Iraq War Quiz

excerpted from footnoted ZNET article
by Stephen R. Shalom

1. The anti-war movement supported our troops by urging that they be brought home immediately so they neither kill nor get killed in an unjust war. How has the Bush administration shown its support for our troops?

- The Republican-controlled House Budget Committee voted to cut \$25 billion in veterans benefits over the next 10 years.
- The Bush administration proposed cutting \$172 million from impact aid programs which provide school funding for children of military personnel.
- The administration ordered the Dept. of Veterans Affairs to stop publicizing health benefits available to veterans.
- All of the above.

Answer: d. All of the above.

CoMMUNITY FoRUM



The Anti-Semitism Debate

by Al Kagan



WHAT DO THE NAMES Berman, Rosenzweig, and Kagan have in common? They are all Jewish names, and they belong to activist librarians who have worked for justice for Palestinians wherever they have lived. I have

participated with two colleagues in the American Library Association in two very difficult campaigns over the last ten years addressing issues of freedom of expression in Israel and the Occupied Territories and the destruction of Palestinian libraries and cultural institutions. We do this because it is U.S. government aid and weapons that make these policies possible. At first glance, it may seem surprising that the leaders of these campaigns were raised in the Jewish tradition, but on second thought it makes a lot of sense as I will explain below.

This short article is necessary now because of an on-going debate about the extent of anti-Semitism in the peace movement. The slogan "Not in My Name" has recently come to the fore. My library friends and I are outraged that the officials of the government of Israel impose the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as the Bush administration is now occupying Iraq. The Israeli officials, descendants of those who were persecuted and gassed during WWII, somehow find it possible to oppress other people. Neve Gordon of Ben-Gurion University in Israel notes that due to Israeli policies, per capita food consumption in the Gaza Strip has declined by 30 percent and the population is experiencing severe malnutrition equivalent to the poorest nations in Africa (*The Nation*, April 14, page 17).

Any discussion of anti-Semitism and the worldwide peace movement must start from these facts on the ground: There are daily atrocities going on against the Palestinians and we must protest this as we would protest

such actions anywhere else in the world. The most important point of this little essay is that IT IS NOT ANTI-SEMITIC TO PROTEST THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.

Many American Jews lost family members in the Holocaust, and all American Jews have been deeply affected by this genocide. As a result, most American Jews have an emotional loyalty to the state of Israel as a homeland of last refuge. But the mainstream U.S. Zionist organizations support the state of Israel uncritically and refuse to acknowledge the gravity of its human rights offenses. The peace movement recognizes the Holocaust as an historical abomination and sympathizes with its victims. But at the same time, the peace movement recognizes the U.S. role in supporting the Israeli agovernment in its repression of the Palestinians.

The interesting point is that more and more American Jews are beginning to realize that they can speak out, and that they can oppose the propaganda that dominates the mainstream media. It is important to realize that this is also true in our own community. Most Americans, and especially American Jews, don't understand that there is an Israeli peace movement and that the range of opinions regularly published in the mainstream Israeli press is wider than the range published here. We remember the Israeli conscientious objector, or "refusenik", who visited our community some months ago. He is but one representative of a movement absent from the American mainstream press. I am proud to say that I support that movement.

Evidence of anti-Semitism in the anti-war movement has lately centered around the exclusion of Rabbi Michael Lerner of Tikkun from speaking at the San Francisco anti-war protest on February 16th. For a detailed analysis of what happened, I refer readers to a section of Edward S. Herman's article entitled "The Cruise Missile Left, Part 2" (*Z Magazine*, April 2003, page 38-39). The article notes that

activists from six anti-war Jewish organizations spoke at that protest representing a broad spectrum of Jewish anti-war views, and that a representative of Tikkun was present at the planning meeting where Lerner was ruled ineligible to speak. The Tikkun representative raised no objection. The ground rules stated that individuals who had publicly denounced any of the organizing groups would be denied the podium. One might argue with these ground rules, but there is a larger point that is more important. Ed Herman writes that Lerner applies the term "anti-Semite" not to people who hate Jews, but to those who assert that Israel today is a racist dangerously out-of-control state that needs to be stopped by the international community.

Progressive American Jews who would never support the slogan "My country, right or wrong," do often support that slogan when it comes to Israel. For whatever (understandable) reasons, when they close their eyes or excuse what is going on in Israel IN OUR NAMES, they alienate themselves from the anti-war movement. It is not hard to understand why they feel out of place. Admittedly, it is hard to confront long-held, emotionally-charged beliefs, but we must all poke through the propaganda mist and see the situation for what it is.

Finally, now that I have explained the context, let me address the ongoing debate. Incidents of anti-Semitism are disturbing whenever they occur, but let's also insist upon noting a sharp rise in racism of all types. U.S. government policies targeting people from Arab countries, especially through the USA Patriot Act, The Homeland Security Act, and new "Special" Registration for people from twenty-five mainly Muslim countries, have provoked attacks on anyone who looks to the attackers like a Muslim, including many South Asians who do not share that religion. Ethnic profiling is officially sanctioned, notoriously at airports, and the members of our local mosque have communicated their distress to

the local anti-war community. They are suffering discrimination in hiring and in their jobs, and women are now often told that they must remove their headscarves to remain employed. Let's be clear. There is no similar campaign against Jews. In fact, it is notable that Jews have now reached the highest levels of commerce and government in the United States (including in the Bush administration).

Anti-Semitism is inflamed by U.S. foreign policy. Everyone knows that the U.S. supports the government of Israel with billions of dollars and the most sophisticated weapons every year. Most Muslims know that Israel has violated more U.N. resolutions than Iraq. The double standards are obvious for the world to see. It is not hard to see why millions hate the U.S. government. And it is not hard to see why some people will equate the Israeli government with Jews as they see the subjugation of the Palestinian people. Thus, it is the U.S. government that is fostering the increase of anti-Semitism (and further terrorist attacks).

Although there may be a few real and even dangerous anti-Semites who affiliate with the anti-war movement, and there may be occasional anti-Semitic signs at peace rallies, they represent a tiny minority in the movement. We must clearly isolate these people, but the propaganda directed against the peace movement for being anti-Semitic has no relation to the impact of such elements.

Ta'ayush, the Arab-Jewish Partnership, recently broke the military blockade of Gaza to deliver 30 tons of flour to six Palestinian villages. This is a concrete expression against not only the policies of the Israeli government, but against anti-Semitism. But such actions can only go so far. The way to defeat anti-Semitism is to change American foreign policy. As long as the U.S. continues to prop up the repressive policies of every Israeli government, there can be no peace in the Middle East and the conflict will further intensify religious and ethnic enmity. The problem is in Washington.

VVAW Should Not Be Forgotten

by Robert Dunn



AS A SON OF A VIETNAM VETERAN, I have seen the effects of war on a soldier by witnessing flashbacks and listening to my father's horror stories from 'Nam. In a sense, I had to live through Vietnam with him as he was reliving it. Now, my generation is being asked to go and fight a war to "liberate the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein." People that I have gone

to high school with are now in Iraq risking their lives for Big Oil. In thinking about my friends and even an ex-girlfriend now in Iraq, I began to recognize the relevance of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and their continued fight for veterans and American GIs.

I learned about VVAW in high school when I went to a meeting of the Progressive Resource/Action Cooperative (PRC). I saw a copy of their locally-made newspaper "The Veteran," and I read a story about vets fighting for peace and social justice on all fronts. I was shocked since I was taught in my history textbooks that people who came back from the war were the enemies of the peace movement. I learned about the veterans getting off the plane and being spat upon, and the anti-American hippies who hated America. But here was a group of veterans, real veterans who had the credentials, telling me that my government has been and is continuing to lie to me about foreign policy. I was angered in a good way with the kind of anger you feel when you are betrayed and you

want to correct that situation.

By reading *Winter Soldiers: An Oral History of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War* by Richard Stacewicz, I learned about the history of the anti-war movement from an anti-war veteran's perspective. I read about the faith that each interviewee had put into the so-called American Dream only to discover that the dream was being undermined by their own government. When they understood the brutal truth, these returning veterans quickly started organizing against the Vietnam War. They realized that the peace movement needed a veteran's organization because how could the American public discredit a soldier returning from the war who was testifying to what the peace movement was saying?

Since they were vets returning from Vietnam, the Nixon Administration viewed them as a "threat to national security," so the COINTELPRO was unleashed on VVAW. The FBI used infiltration, agent provocateurs, and informants in order to discredit, disrupt, and divide VVAW. The main reason why the Nixon Administration was so threatened by VVAW was because they were exposing the war for what it really was, not what the government and the media were portraying it as.

After all of the dirty tricks played on VVAW, they are still here. They continued their resistance towards US foreign policy through out the Reagan/Bush/Clinton/BushII eras.

In 1971, VVAW convened the "Winter Soldier Investigations", which had vets actually telling about their experiences of seeing or participating in crimes against humanity. One of these veterans was John Kerry, a 2004 Presidential hopeful. He

now claims to have been "an angry youth" when he affiliated with VVAW. He isn't with VVAW anymore. Kerry has voted to send our youth to war, thereby making more angry young men and women out of the current generation of veterans. He has also supported cuts in these veterans' benefits that should be available to them when they come home.

Meanwhile, VVAW has been organizing for veterans' rights: amnesty for GIs, better VA facilities, and recognition of Agent Orange exposure and its debilitating effects on vets and Vietnamese alike. Recently, VVAW has organized two homeless veteran stand-downs a year. These stand-downs help serve homeless Veterans in urban cities like Chicago. VVAW has tried to get counseling for these underserved and forgotten members of our society. VVAW currently is at the forefront of the veterans movement to oppose the Bush II war on the Iraqi people.

Since that rainy day in Central Park, New York City, 1967, VVAW has continued to inspire and provide wisdom for current activists. On the local campus they do this by helping in the fight against the racist mascot of the University of Illinois, "Chief Illiniwek," and in the C-U community they help the local anti-war coalition of AWARE, PRC, and SPA.

This son of an unfortunate son sends his thanks to VVAW for its leadership and just being kick ass organizers and beer drinkers. Thank God that VVAW is still run by the "angry youth" of earlier wars. The next generation of angry youth will need the role models found in the VVAW.

For more information about the history of VVAW, view the video *Citizen Soldier* by Dennis Mueller.

Local



Protests, a Reflection

by Morton Brussel



AT THIS TIME OF FRUSTRATION AND ANGER OVER U.S. aggression against Iraq, the question of what can be done to thwart the seemingly inevitable and devastating course of events has arisen. There are questions about the usefulness of the protest movement in view of the failure to deflect the military aggression. It may be useful therefore to reconsider the nature and purpose

of the movement, to take stock of its achievements and what its future is likely to be.

Have the protests been in vain? Have the millions here and abroad who have gone into the streets, to the web pages, and to the letters columns of the newspapers to express their deep opposition to war – their anger and indignation that such an unjustifiable aggression could even be contemplated – did it have any beneficial effects? The answer must be yes. Here are some reasons:

Certainly we who have participated in the protest rallies have had our spirits buoyed by being amidst those large, thoughtful, tolerant, diverse, peaceful, and determined crowds. We came to know that our views represent an important fraction and large cross section of the US population. This has given us at least the illusion of power and hence the hope that our messages of peace and justice would be heard and war could be prevented.

The fact that web sites seemed to spring up on the internet to call for, organize, and coalesce a virtual audience into a real mass movement seemed miraculous and inspiring to those who participated.

Overseas, the mass outpouring of protest against US intentions had tangible consequences: It strengthened the hands of those governments who opposed US efforts to get a U.N Security Council resolution for military intervention in Iraq and it encouraged wavering governments to stand against US pressures.

The extent of the protests in the streets throughout the world could hardly be ignored by the mass media outlets – the TV channels and the major newspapers – so that the reasons for opposing war and the manipulations of the Bush government received more exposure than otherwise would have occurred. It is noteworthy that in the US, the initial blatant distortions in much of the reporting of the protests made so obvious the deceit to a witnessing public that subsequent reporting of the protests was much improved.

Finally, the mass protests, in emphasizing the moral objections to the war, seem to have mitigated the “collateral damage” inflicted by the invasion. It more clearly shaped the propaganda – at the present juncture, the full extent of the casualties and devastation is hidden, and we may never know it.

Now the situation has changed: the feared aggression has occurred, and we must decide how to confront it and how to avoid future aggressions.

With the present Bush administration, it seems clear that a deflection from its militaristic quest for dominion over the world will occur only if there are credible threats to its continued existence. With our government, and in the absence of a credible foreign military opposition such as existed in the cold war, the ultimate threats reside in politics and elections. It is useful therefore to list various factors or events which could threaten the present political support for the administration.

Although it is unlikely, failure by the Bush regime to subjugate and to control Iraq, with substantial losses of American lives and slaughter of Iraqi civilians, could cause disgust, disillusionment, and dissatisfaction. It happened in Vietnam, and Lyndon Johnson abandoned the Presidency as a result. Attacks on US bases and US economic interests, in Iraq or elsewhere, as a result of the hostility engendered by our policies, could do the same. Economic hardship at home while the military budget continues to increase can turn opinion sour. Even the corporate/business sector may become disaffected. A widening sense that our civil liberties are in danger, that our civil society will be undermined by perpetual war, could con-

tribute to a disillusionment with the current regime.

It therefore seems clear that the protest movement can profitably act on two fronts. 1) It can use educational processes to increase public knowledge of what is and has been going on, in the hope that this will change the public's consciousness and conscience. 2) It can act politically to only support candidates for national office who oppose the militaristic and repressive Bush policies and oppose those who are acquiescent of those policies. It can act as a huge pressure group. We have to decide on the strategies and choices to be employed to obtain the greatest pay-offs, not what to do so much as how to do it. It is this question of the “how” that I now address.

The outpouring of protest against the war has been largely mobilized by a repugnance to a war of aggression, a war whose victims are seen to be the innocent and the vulnerable, an aggression whose stated justifications have been felt to be hollow, inconsistent, deceitful, and hypocritical. Many have also joined in protest because they've seen in the Bush policies a grave danger to society itself, a rejection of the United Nations and its charter, a danger to a just world order, and a turning backwards towards the barbarism of “might makes right” and the law of the jungle.

People have turned out in order to make a show of



strength, to have their voices heard, or to release their frustrations. We hoped that others, including political and cultural leaders, would join in so that our message would resound across the nation, forcing national leaders to take heed. In order to affect the uncommitted and those uncomfortable with public displays, the protest movement emphasized its peaceful commitment in non-disruptive rallies. It sought to avoid being marginalized by an antagonistic media prone to characterize the protests as unlawful, radical and uncivil. In this it was largely successful. A broad cross-section of society responded, and media coverage followed, as mentioned above. However, this failed to prevent the aggression, because the Bush stage managers took the gamble that the Iraqi resistance would quickly crumble, that the media would minimize the havoc while stirring up patriotic fervor, and that our glorious military would be shown successful in getting rid of Saddam Hussein. With propaganda about humanitarian aid and reconstruction in the headlines, there then would be little left about which to protest, especially if the surviving Iraqis seemed to welcome the invaders. That justification for the aggression, the weapons of mass destruction and links between Iraq and terrorism might be revealed bogus could be finessed by various propagandistic devices.

There has been a debate in the protest community about the advisability of disruption. Some have argued that courteous and non-disruptive mass rallies are not sufficient to change the course of events, that opposition to war needs to be more forceful, that it needs to be demonstrated that business as usual in the face of death and disaster is not an option, that when lives and livelihoods are at stake, drastic actions are called for. Of course, such is stuff of the making of revolutions. Lying on roads or railroad tracks to impede weapons deliveries, invading military bases to disrupt and cast light on their

activities, hammering and shedding blood on intercontinental ballistic missiles — all such actions are done to make a lethargic public take notice. Those who have gone to Baghdad or to the West Bank to act as witnesses or human shields cannot help but win admiration for their courage and humanitarian convictions, even if their actions seem foolhardy and futile.

On the other hand, many feel that disruption is counterproductive. It frightens people and is said to belie the peaceful intent of the protestors. Moreover, it provides state authorities excuses for repression. Indeed “agents provocateurs” are known to have been used by States to discredit protest movements.

However, there are no general rules. Even arguments for nonviolence have limited applicability or may be self defeating in cases where one is being attacked or brutally repressed. Was it wrong to have a Boston Tea Party and to start the American Revolution? Was it wrong to storm the Bastille? Each situation has to be analyzed on its merits. If we could have stopped or hindered the war on Iraq by certain actions, e.g., by staging a general strike, by shutting down military installations, by a siege of the White House of Pentagon or State Department, or by disrupting the military transportation system, would that have been wrong? It should be obvious that answers to such questions hinge crucially upon the ability to carry out such actions in the first place, the prospects for their success, and the consequences that are entailed. Unfortunately, we may not know the answers beforehand, although we may be able to estimate the chances of success in some instances.

I would therefore argue that that there is strength in diversity of ideas and of actions. Opinions will differ about whether specific actions hinder rather than promote the desired outcome; but let us be flexible and pragmatic. Let there be non-disruptive mass rallies, vigils, teach-ins, etc., but let us also be tolerant of marches which, while making a political gesture, may impede traffic or impinge on state or corporate property. Let us indeed support efforts such as entering military compounds for weapons inspections or to identify weapons of mass destruction. Let us support those who would impede military convoys, who would picket munitions manufacturers, or contest military recruiters. Let us admire those with the courage to engage in acts of civil disobedience, for they inspire the anti-war effort as well as bring wrongs to light. It is useful to show that empire building may have costs to our domestic tranquility.

What do we now protest? Do we gather to mourn the deaths and destruction? Do we continue to rally to express our points of view before a public drugged by the corporate media? Do we protest in common cause with a world aghast at our government's actions and arrogance, showing that an active opposition to Bush persists here in the United States?

Why not all of this, with the notion always to build our political strength? Together with public rallies, let us use our anti-war organizations to pressure our electoral candidates to oppose the Bush policies of perpetual war, empire, and the security state. These can be winning political issues, but we must figure out how to best implement them. The controversy over the Nader third party candidacy in the 2000 election is illustrative; compromise versus principle – the lesser evil – will remain a divisive issue which we should anticipate. It is hard to know whether our voices will be effective without a political party voice that can find a public outlet or without a political party organization.

Meanwhile, let us continue to demand that the US refrain from further aggressions, that the war on terrorism be fought by removing the causes – humiliation, injustice, and repression – that the administration of Iraq be a U.N. responsibility until stability is established, and that a just solution to the whole Middle East mess be enacted. We must demand that the quest for empire by the current Bush administration cease, and that the needs of the American society be addressed. We should see to it that the present administration is replaced by something better.

Finally, let us synchronize our efforts against injustice and inequality with the wider world community – with the idea that a better world is possible.

GoVERNMENT



Impeachment: Something Worth Voting For

By Lisa Chason



WHEN PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH, Vice President Richard B. Cheney, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, and Attorney General John D.

Ashcroft are eventually impeached for crimes against humanity, we can look back and say it started here, when UIUC law professor Francis Boyle announced the beginning of the campaign on October 7, 2002 at a rally on the university quad. Since then this work has been shared with Ramsey Clark, U.S. Attorney General in the Johnson administration and renowned human rights lawyer, and there are now many websites devoted to impeachment.

On March 11 Boyle and Clark met with John Conyers, D-Michigan, the ranking member of the House Judiciary Committee (if the Democrats were to win control of the House he would be chair). Any action would have to start here. Conyers convened a two-hour meeting in Washington with almost fifty top advisors, most of them lawyers, to hear the arguments to file a second draft of the impeachment bill. Several congressional staff members are surveying the public to determine the level of support for such an action. What is needed now is a member of Congress to introduce it.

Boyle concedes that this is not very likely in a Republican-controlled Congress. Indeed he stresses that a significant point about this call for impeachment is that it is grassroots-based. Full-page advertisements, costing around \$45,000 apiece, with the funds raised from public contributions, have appeared in several major newspapers including the New York Times and the San Francisco Chronicle. Impeach Bush has become a major theme at most recent demonstrations, and over 250,000 people already have cast their vote for impeachment at www.VoteToImpeach.org, with a goal of one million.

When asked if initiating impeachment was not moot because Congress voted to give Bush the authority to act in November, Boyle answered that the Constitution clearly requires a declaration of war by the legislature. Congress gave the President conditional authority providing he exhausted all means of diplomacy and that the attack was necessary for vital national security. According to Boyle such a case was not made; what the administration has said is based on lies and a formal declaration is still needed.

The campaign received strong impetus recently when Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary of State under George Bush Senior, said an extension of the war against Iraq was unthinkable. In an impassioned BBC interview and an article in the April 14 issue of the UK newspaper the Mirror, Mr. Eagleburger said that if George W. Bush were to take mili-

tary action against Syria or Iran he would support impeachment.

THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT

Boyle calls the Articles of Impeachment that have been introduced a "work in progress" because the specific charges keep changing. As Bush and his cabinet engage in more illegal acts the terms of litigation will change. But the case will remain based on "violations and subversions of the Constitution of the United States of America in an attempt to carry out with impunity crimes against peace and humanity and war crimes and deprivations of the civil rights of the people of the United States and other nations, by assuming powers of an imperial executive unaccountable to law and usurping powers of the Congress, the Judiciary and those reserved to the people of the United States."



Boyle

A large part of the case is based on the Nuremberg Principles, adopted after WWII and the trial of the Nazi leadership. This international treaty, signed by the U.S., makes it illegal to plan "inhuman acts committed against any civilized population."

When the president violates this, or the U.N. Charter, he is violating a treaty that the U.S. has ratified, which ranks with the Constitution as the highest law of the land, above statute law. And he is directly violating his oath of office, which is to uphold the law and the Constitution.

Furthermore, as John Pilger notes in Z Magazine (April 10, 2003), the judges in the Nuremberg trial stated that to initiate a war of aggression is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international war crime in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole. They specifically rejected German arguments of the "necessity" for pre-emptive attacks against other countries.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution mentions impeachment six times. It is part of the system of checks and balances and provides the legislative branch a way to try the President, Vice President, cabinet members or federal judges. The term "impeachment" has an aura greater than its technical meaning, which is equivalent only to the power to indict. The process begins in the House of Representatives' Judiciary Committee, which conducts an investi-

Constitution of the United States
Article I, Section 4
The President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

VOTE TO IMPEACH

President George W. Bush, Vice President Richard B. Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, and Attorney General John D. Ashcroft have committed violations and subversions of the Constitution of the United States in an attempt to carry out with impunity crimes against peace and humanity and war crimes and deprivations of the civil rights of the people of the United States and other nations, by assuming powers of an imperial executive unaccountable to law and usurping powers of the Congress, the Judiciary and those reserved to the people of the United States. They have:

1. Seized power to wage wars of aggression in defiance of the U.S. Constitution, the U.N. Charter and the rule of law; planned massive military assaults on Iraq, a country that is not threatening the United States; planned a "shock and awe" strategy to create a Hiroshima-type effect on the Iraqi population which is terrifying and outrageous to the people of the world.
2. Ordered and directed the violent overthrow of sovereign states, disapprehensions, kidnappings, assassinations, summary executions, murders and tortures. "More than 3000 suspected terrorists have been arrested by the U.S. in many countries. And many others have met a different fate. Let's put it this way: They are no longer a problem..." (G.W. Bush, State of the Union message, February 4, 2003.)
3. Threatened to wage first strike nuclear war against even non-nuclear countries, setting off a new arms race so non-nuclear nations now seek to develop nuclear arms to deter U.S. aggression or the loss of their sovereignty.
4. Trashed the Bill of Rights and fundamental freedoms of the American people and others everywhere by acting to strip U.S. citizens of their constitutional and human rights; ordering indefinite detentions of citizens and noncitizens; ordering unlawful arrests, raids, and interrogations; institutionalizing racial profiling and authorizing domestic spying on persons based on their engagement in noncriminal religious and political activities.

Articles of Impeachment drafted by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and international publicist assistant of Clark David Impeachment.org

TAKE BACK THE CONSTITUTION
Join the movement of deeply concerned people all across the U.S. who are rising to impeach. See www.VoteToImpeach.org or cast your vote here.
Save our freedoms threatened by an imperial Presidency! Prevent a U.S. War of Aggression!

I want my representative in the U.S. House of Representatives to vote to impeach President George W. Bush, Vice President Richard B. Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, and Attorney General John D. Ashcroft for high crimes and misdemeanors, and to have the case prosecuted and tried in the U.S. Senate.

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I wish to list my name on www.vote2impeach.org and newspaper with where possible.

Make checks payable to Vote To Impeach, Inc. 1024 Remondino Ave. 9th, Suite 007, Washington, DC 20008.

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Send to: The Vote To Impeach Campaign, PO Box 100000

This ad appeared in the New York Times and San Francisco Chronicle in March and April.

gation and can then make charges, known as Articles of Impeachment. Each Article requires a majority vote of the House. When this is successful, the person has been impeached. The case then passes to the Senate where the trial takes place.

The impeachment process has been initiated against several presidents in recent times including Harry Truman, Ronald Reagan, George Bush Sr., and of course Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton. In fact, the case now being considered is based on the same grounds introduced by Boyle and the late Representative Henry B. Gonzales (D-TX) in calling for impeachment of the first President Bush. Gonzales kept the case alive into the Clinton administration but dropped it in 1994 when Democrats lost control of the House.

Only Presidents Andrew Johnson, in 1868, Nixon, and Clinton were in danger of being removed from office. In Nixon's case, he resigned before the process could run its course. As for Clinton, the proceedings reached the stage of trial before the Senate, but the final vote (46-54 on perjury; 50-50 on obstruction) failed to produce the two-thirds needed for conviction and removal.

There are now a large number of websites devoted to documenting Bush and his administration's offenses. You can find them by searching for "impeach Bush." Cast your vote at the VoteToImpeach website given above, and call Representative Tim Johnson (202-225-2371) to let him know that his constituents support this growing movement.

View From Guatemala

by Jessica Pupovac

AS THE WAR IN IRAQ PROGRESSES, I feel the need to share with you, my friends and family, a little bit about what it feels like to live outside of the US during this frightening time.

Here in Guatemala, there has been a significant ongoing presence outside of the US Embassy vehemently opposed to the war. I went one day last week during lunch and someone threw red paint on me. Car after car passing the rally honked their horns and showed their fists to the embassy, and a group of protesters burnt the US flag while the crowd cheered. In the US, such a turn out for a rally makes me hopeful and energized. Standing in front of my embassy here in Guatemala, however, watching my flag get burnt and thinking about all of you back home, all I felt was fear. It is true. They really hate us. More and more every day.

It is amazing to me, the amount of public outcry that is going on right now throughout the world. People in Asia, in Africa, in Central and South America and throughout Europe have been marching in the streets and speaking out against the largest common enemy, and potential threat, the world has ever known.

Even in the conservative Guatemalan press, articles about the US empire needing to be stopped, the civilian casualties in Iraq and the arrogance of US foreign policy inundate the coverage of the war. Many Guatemalan journalists are very afraid not only of what this attack means to international security and respect for international law but of what it will do to the poorest nations in the world, whose economies catch pneumonia when the US economy sneezes.

CNN, which some friends of mine have here, seems to have become the official station of the US Department of Defense. I hear terms like "Operation Freedom for Iraq" and laugh. "Who is buying any of this?" I ask. And then I realize, 80% of my fellow Americans (I'm told). I want to think that it isn't their fault and that they are being lied to, but I wonder how much they want to believe what they hear. I know that if they used the tools available to them - their educated minds, the internet, compassion - it wouldn't be this way.

I read last week that Bush has signed an executive order that makes it easier for government agencies, including the White House, to keep documents classified and

out of public view. From the NY Times: "The order delays by three years the release of declassified government documents dating from 1978 or earlier and treats all material sent to American officials from foreign governments -- no matter how routine -- as subject to classification. It expands the ability of the Central Intelligence Agency to shield documents from declassification. And for the first time, it gives the vice president the power to classify information." The Center for Public Integrity (www.publicintegrity.org) apparently obtained a draft version of the second Patriot Act, which makes all information gathering, including research, a possible "weapon of mass destruction" and considers any criminal a "terrorist," eligible for deportation, even if you are a natural born citizen. I read reports circulating in activist circles of artists and organizers being visited by plain-clothed government officials and being asked questions and warned that they should stop their subversive activities. A man in Washington was arrested in a mall two weeks ago for wearing a t-shirt that read, "Give Peace a



Chance." I feel that these acts are the acts of a frightened emperor, who can see the imminent crumbling of his empire.

I worry for my country and I worry for the American people. I hope that none of you forget that there is nothing more American than dissidence and that if you do not exercise your rights, you will, indeed, have them taken away from you.

Peace,
Jessica

Wartime Reflections from Spain

by Jim Kotowski



Jim Kotowski spent junior year of college ('86-'87) in Barcelona as a student, and squandered his time in the company of other US Americans, which is something one can easily do in Illinois. He is now fulfilling his vow to come back and "do it right", teaching English and living Barcelona life in a more integrated fashion, looking forward to walking through Spain this summer via the Camino de Santiago, a medieval pilgrimage road that is still quite active today.

ONE THING THAT I REMEMBER of the Spanish people, when I was here 15 years ago as a young American study abroad student, was their attention to political matters. I never was part of one, but they seemed to have a lot of demonstrations; their news seemed to go a little deeper than the relentless parade of fires, shootings and tragedy I was used to in the U.S. It seems telling to me now that, due to the relative abundance of syllables present in the Spanish language, I referred to it as "talking like a machine gun".

This time around I am a bit more integrated into things. I have been part of a demonstration, chanted the sad and stirring refrain, "No, no, guerra no, guerra no, guerra no" ("No war," basically), laughed at banners depicting Spanish President José María Aznar having anal sex with Tony Blair, who was doing the same to George W. Bush, and marvelled at the sheer number of people present. I especially felt a sort of wonder that so many children were singing slogans of peace, as well as senior citizens - but wasn't a demonstration a dangerous thing? Not this one. It was like a giant, sweet wave of peace. Peace combined with passion - and if any combination of factors can stop or slow the advance of greed, folly and violence now so painfully obvious to so many, it is that of peace and passion.

Once, some friends (Spanish, German, French) and I interrupted our dinner to lean out of the balcony and bang on pots and pans, as did people all up and down the street. In the main plaza, the pot bangers were complimented by a host of candle-bearing citizens in the formation of a peace sign filling the large circular space. Others packed the surrounding streets that mark off the square with their own sea of candle light ... I compare this stirring image with George Bush, Sr.'s

smarmy "thousand points of light" speech.

Again last night, the people appeared in the streets and on balconies to bang pots. The noise of a whole city doing this is impressive, a bit like the sound of large hail raining down on car lots. Cars drive around honking, and even the fire fighters add their sirens to the din. It seems very childishly effective; the point, certainly, is made.

Yesterday a friend sent me an email as part of a campaign to flood the Popular Party's computers with incoming protests, to literally paralyze their computer system with electronic complaints. I don't know if it worked, but I sent mine.

There are hints of increased tensions, at least among the demographically singular adolescent crowd. Isolated incidents have been reported including the sacking of the one local McDonald's and the egging of politicians and offices of President Aznar's "Popular Party."

The television images I see here are of some dead soldiers in American uniforms, interviews with captured Americans, squadrons of young Iraqi men on their knees with hands behind their heads in an attitude of surrender, and the unforgettable images of the bombing of Baghdad. The war is getting full coverage; the ecological and economic disaster of the oil spill in Northwestern Spain, which dominated the airwaves for two and a half months, is all but forgotten. The Oscars were covered with an eye toward how the actors and directors and other nominees would address the war - or not. One commentator expressed surprise that Pedro Almodóvar, who had participated in a protest march with Susan Sarandon and Tim Robbins, did not gainsay the war more strongly. The director himself, interviewed by the Spanish press, said that he felt afraid when he was there because the atmosphere was one of fear.

I don't know what has come out in the U.S. press, but here I have read about Aznar's visits to the White House and to Bush's Texas ranch and about how George W. praised Aznar's efforts in the fight against "terrorism". Now, the people here say that terrorism has been a horrible problem for them. And surely it has. However, recently the Spanish government shut down the only newspaper in Spain which was written in the Basque language, citing purported links of the publishers and editors to the terrorist organization ETA (the Basque separatist group). As it is, Basque is a language in danger of extinction, and a newspaper in that language an important voice for the integrity of those people.

I hate to say it, but for my part, I had to wonder if the close



relations between the two governments of Spain and the United States had anything to do with Almodóvar's winning his Oscar... and maybe I shouldn't even suggest that, given that I saw neither his film nor any of his competitors; but I follow the logic of a Spanish commentator who intimated that Chris Cooper, who apparently made some strong anti-war comments, might not win another Oscar, due to his choice of words. This commentator also noted the precedent of the blacklisting which occurred during the McCarthy era - Office of Homeland Security, anyone?

Someone here told me that they heard that seventy percent of the American people are reported to be in favor of the war against Iraq. They ask me if it is true. I don't know what to tell them except that I hope not, and that if the source of this figure is the American press that it may be suspect. Many people here, rather naively in my opinion, wondered if the war would actually happen. I told them that the American Government, if it cared what the people thought, would be headed by Al Gore right now.

But, flowing along in a river of peaceful protesters, banging pots and brandishing candles to the night - it's hard to believe that all these lovely gestures, as it were, would not have some positive effect.



Meet the Coalition!

by Sarah Boyer



Peppered throughout broadcast and print media reports on the Iraq War is the term "coalition". Very early in the war, Secretary of State Colin Powell appeared on Fox News with Brit Hume and described the coalition members as "part of this great effort to rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction and provide a better life for the Iraqi people by getting rid of this regime." But discovering who is part of this effort and what each coalition member is contributing (and why) is less than obvious. The White House webpage (www.whitehouse.gov) lists the coalition members without individual contributions. Digging and sifting through mainstream press articles, government, and NGO sources is required simply to learn exactly what kind of support the Bush Administration has pulled together. And, after reading the compiled list that follows, the real purpose of this "lie of omission" becomes apparent.

Many nations that contributed troops to Gulf War I (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, France) are noticeably absent from the current coalition. In addition, most current coalition members are participating in a very limited way – either by providing political support or postwar reconstruction and humanitarian aid. Certainly many non-coalition members will supply reconstruction or humanitarian relief as well – without the dubious title of coalition member – through the UN. Technically, the 49 countries in this coalition is a numerically larger group than the 43 countries in 1991, but only 3 countries are sending significant numbers of troops in this war – compared to the 17 countries which sent combat troops in 1991. Regardless, three-quarters of the 191 UN member nations elected not to participate in this coalition.

What truly marks a coalition member? Several coalition members depend on the US, UK, or Australia for economic or military aid, food, or national defense. Other countries (Ethiopia & Eritrea) are members in name only in the hope that the US will side with them in international dis-

putes. This *quid pro quo* mentality calls into question the idea that coalition members are merely "interested in securing democracy and peace for the Iraqi people" as the White House claims. As is plain to see, some coalition members are also interested in securing or continuing vital aid, resources, and influence for their countries.

Finally, while some countries (such as the former Soviet-bloc states) may truly want freedom for Iraqis, some coalition members do not extend several freedoms (religion, speech, assembly, association) to their own citizens. Granted, not all coalition members deny freedoms or abuse human rights, but some do and this itself demonstrates a weakness of the coalition. So, the next time a reporter, anchor, expert, official, or pundit uses the term "coalition", remember this list of contributions. In most cases, coalition is simply a euphemism for US. But then again, in a war where "conquer" is redefined as "liberate," it isn't very surprising that the US is the head of a rather weak-kneed "coalition" indeed.

The Big, the Bad, the US, UK, & Australia

300,000	total troops
-- 45,000	UK (but no more according to Jack Straw)
-- 2,000	Australia (along with 150 special forces, naval vessels, and warplanes)
-- 1,000	noncombative, chemical, biological, and nuclear specialists or peacekeeping troops from other nations
= 252,000	US (85% of the military effort)

You scratch my back...

ERITREA & ETHIOPIA These bitter rivals seek US support in a boundary dispute. One hundred thousand citizens and residents from both countries are refugees as a result of the 1998-2000 border war. Human Rights Watch has documented: prolonged detention; lack of food, water, and medical care; beatings and other physical abuse. With the final decision concerning the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea scheduled for May 2003, both countries want US favor. In addition, freedoms of association, religion, press, and privacy protections are questionable or nonexistent in both countries.

War on Drugs/Terrorism/Iraq/....

COLOMBIA Political support; Currently receiving US military assistance and set to receive \$574m in US aid in 2004 to "combat drug trafficking and terrorist activity"; "active aerial eradication campaign underway" to prevent coca production; 55% of the population lives below the poverty line

EL SALVADOR Political support; Receives US funding for the "War on Drugs" (route for cocaine); Sending Salvadoran military officials with any UN post-war peacekeeping troops; To receive \$40m in US foreign aid in 2004; 20% of total aid and 50% of total imports/exports are from the US; 48% of the population lives below poverty line.

NICARAGUA Political support; Receives US funding for the "War on Drugs" (route for cocaine); \$6b in external debt; Two words--Iran-Contra; extremely unequal economic distribution--50% of the population lives below the poverty line; See "Drop the Debt in Nicaragua" on p. 00 for more details about this coalition partner.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Political support only; Basically the only partner for main exports sugar and coffee? Yup, you guessed, the US; Severe income inequality; Initial landing point of Columbus in 1492.

Sure,...I'll help you move....

ALBANIA 70 non-combat troops; Set to receive almost \$35m in US foreign aid; Closely tied to the US economically; Journalists in Albania risk harassment, physical assaults, and charges of criminal defamation, particularly when reporting critically about public officials; Poor prison conditions; Seeking NATO membership.

BULGARIA 150 nuclear, biological, and chemical decontamination experts; Opened airspace and offered use of bases; Asked not to be listed publicly (Oops!); Currently seeking US financial/military support through NATO; To receive a little more than \$40m in US aid in 2004; EU and NATO candidate.

DENMARK Submarine, small naval destroyer, military/medical personnel; Contributing to reconstruction; Opted out of some EU matters, such as currency; NATO member.

KUWAIT US and British troops are in Kuwait; Government can impose restrictions on freedom of speech and the press.

ROMANIA 278 experts in landmine removal and chemical-biological decontamination; Basing and overflight rights; Participating in post-conflict peacekeeping and humanitarian missions; EU and NATO candidate.

CZECH REPUBLIC Chemical-biological warfare support unit; Overflights rights; Helping with post-war clean-up and will house refugees if needed; To receive a little less than \$12m in US aid in 2004; NATO member and EU candidate.

SLOVAKIA Non-combat troops, political support, reconstruction aid; Will house refugees if needed; EU and NATO candidate.

NETHERLANDS Sent anti-missile batteries and 360 soldiers...to Turkey to defend the border with Iraq; Participating in post-war peacekeeping operations; NATO member.

HUNGARY Provided a base for US training of Iraqi opposition members as interpreters and guides for US troops; Helping with reconstruction and refugees; NATO member.

SINGAPORE Opened military bases and air space to the US; Relies on "preventive detention" to deal with espionage, terrorism, organized crime, and narcotics (Is that like a doctrine of pre-emption?); 3.5 times the size of Washington, DC; Currently engaged in "land reclamation" which has concerned its neighbor, Malaysia.

UKRAINE 500 nuclear, biological, and chemical decontamination experts; Assisting with reconstruction and refugees.

Introducing...Compacts of Free Association (CFA)

In a Compact of Free Association, countries receive aid in exchange for US military access. However, since these three have no independent military, the US is also responsible for their defense. In addition to aid, CFA citizens are eligible to enlist in the US military. All three have citizens serving in the US armed forces, so technically these "coalition" members are providing troops.

MARSHALL ISLANDS Political support; Home to the US Army Base Kwajalein (USAKA) since 1964; Entered into a CFA in 1986 for \$39m in annual aid.

PALAU US granted 50 years of military access to the islands in 1994 for \$700 million spread over 15 years; South Pacific island nowhere close to Iraq; About 20 Palau citizens currently serve in the US military.

MICRONESIA Political support; Achieved independence under a 1986 CFA which is currently being "renegotiated" (\$1.3b during 1986-2001); Directly from www.cia.gov: "Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) is a sovereign, self-governing state in free association with the US and totally dependent on the US for its defense...." Free and dependent---interesting definition of free association.



With friends like these....

AZERBAIJAN Political support; To receive almost \$50m in foreign aid in 2004; Torture and physical abuse of detainees in Azerbaijan is common for both political and non-political detainees.

UZBEKISTAN Promises support (as an ally in the war on terrorism); Receives US military assistance; To receive almost \$60m in US aid in 2004; Human Rights Watch has documented arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, and torture of hundreds of independent Muslims since October 2001; Most government officials are former Soviet officials; Current president has held office since 1995 after several referenda to "extend" his term (which now runs until 2007); No functioning independent judiciary; Government controls the media and press; 88% of population is Sunni Muslim and primarily rural cotton farmers.

RWANDA An estimated 800,000 Rwandans were killed in 100 days in 1994; Male life expectancy is 38 years; Rural country with about 90% of the population subsistence farmers; Primary exports are coffee and tea and Rwanda wants access to EU and US markets; 11% of the population has AIDS/HIV; Citizens do not have the right to change their government; Prison conditions remain life-threatening - prisoners die of starvation and preventable diseases.

UGANDA Declared a British protectorate in 1860 and attained independence in 1962; Expelled a UN aid agency rep in April after a disagreement over transfer of refugees; Diverse country in regards to geography and culture but not politics - only one military-controlled political party.

ANGOLA 85% of population subsistence farmers; Oil and diamonds are main exports; US purchases half of Angola's total oil exports (which total 900,000 barrels a day as of 4/03); 50% unemployment; 85,000 soldiers and their 340,000 family members are completely dependent on government or international aid; World's leading coca producer and supplier of 90% of US cocaine and an "active aerial eradication campaign underway" (via www.cia.gov); Freedoms of speech, press, assembly, association, and movement are all severely restricted.

Psssst...

These countries are not named on the official list, but several are participating in a far wider role than some named coalition members:

QATAR US Central Command headquarters located at Camp As Sayliyah; Al-Udeid air base opened for in-flight refueling squadron, F-15 fighter wing and maintenance hangars; Member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) which agreed to defend Kuwait if necessary; Built a 15,000-foot runway---far larger than its 12-plane air defense needs---prior to the War in Iraq.

SAUDI ARABIA Facilities open to the US military; GCC member; Religious freedom does not exist in Saudi Arabia; Demonstrations of faith except those of the state interpretation of Sunni Islam are forbidden; Shi'a Muslims face severe discrimination.

BAHRAIN, OMAN, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES All opened their facilities to the US military and are GCC members.

JORDAN US troops are stationed in Jordan near the Iraqi border manning anti-missile batteries in case Iraq fires missiles at Israel; Set to receive \$1.1b in economic and military aid.

BELGIUM Overflight rights for US aircraft.

CROATIA Refueling stop for US transport aircraft.

EGYPT Keeping Suez Canal open to US warships; To receive \$300m in economic grants---which will then be used to secure \$2b in loan guarantees.

GREECE Opened airspace, but will not send troops; US naval base in Crete serves US 6th Fleet and supports Navy and Air Force intelligence-gathering planes.

GERMANY Opened airspace and allowed access to US and British bases in Germany (remnants from WWII); Helping with post-war cleanup.

ISRAEL Traditional Middle East ally noticeably absent while other protectorates are included--like Tonga & Palau.

I'll just supervise....

SOUTH KOREA May send engineering battalion (500 troops); Helping with reconstruction.

ITALY Opened bases and air space; Supportive of US position; Home to three US air bases and 17,000 US troops; NATO member.

SPAIN Political support but no military assistance (80% of population oppose military intervention); Offering warplanes...to defend Turkey from an Iraqi attack and one medical ship; Opened NATO bases.

JAPAN Financial support for the reconstruction of Iraq; Japan's constitution bans the use of force in settling international disputes (What a novel idea! Wonder who thought of that...? Oh, wait...).

GEORGIA Political/moral support and use of air bases; To receive a little less than \$90m in US aid in 2004.

PORTUGAL Granted permission to use Lajes Field air base in the Azores Islands as a refueling stop; the Azores was also the site of summit between Bush, Blair, and Spanish Prime Minister Aznar before the war.

ICELAND Postwar humanitarian relief; Has no independent army and is currently defended by the US-led Icelandic Defense Force; NATO member.

MACEDONIA & MONGOLIA Political support only.

SOLOMON ISLANDS Political support (has no independent military); Achieved independence from UK in 1978; Denies supporting the coalition or being a member but continues to be listed on official White House list.

COSTA RICA, HONDURAS, PANAMA Political support; Panama's official statement says that they: "understand your decision to grant to the Iraqi people the chance to enjoy democracy, peace and respect for human rights."

Follow the money

TURKEY Finally agreed to overflight rights and political support, but never agreed to specific military support and, as a result, lost a US proposal of \$15b in grants and loan guarantees; Opposed to Kurdish control of oil-rich Kirkuk or Mosul in N. Iraq and fears an independent Kurdish state would include Turkish Kurds and territory; Kurd population denied political and cultural rights---speaking Kurd or wearing Kurdish colors is illegal; Currently involved in a dispute with Greece over Cyprus; EU candidate.

POLAND 200 non-combat troops and a logistics ship; Received a \$3.5b US loan for 48 Lockheed-Martin fighter planes with the first payment by Poland due in 2010; Polish law requires that all public expenditures are matched with an equal investment package, so Lockheed-Martin put together a deal (estimates range from \$6--12b) with GM, Motorola, and United Technologies; Scheduled to join the EU in May 2004; NATO member.

AFGHANISTAN Currently occupied and protected by US and other "War on Terrorism" allies; Set to receive \$550m in US foreign aid in 2004 and currently receives \$127m to fight terrorism, \$170m to build an army, and \$337m for relief, resettlement, and reconstruction.

PHILIPPINES Political/moral support; Currently receives US military assistance and will receive almost \$90m in US aid in 2004; Popular revolt against Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos occurred in 1986 without US military intervention (or, in this case, protection), but rather by the people of the Philippines.

ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA All three are currently seeking US financial/military support through NATO; None existed as sovereign states during the 1991 Gulf War; EU and NATO candidates.

(KINGDOM OF) TONGA Four times the size of DC (747 sq. mi.); Imports a high proportion of food and receives economic aid from Australia; Primarily plantation and subsistence agriculture; Tonga Defense Service is a 400 person force; Only monarchy in the Pacific.

Fact or Fiction?

MOROCCO---NOT ON LIST AS OF 5/1/03

Raised chickens for use in detecting chemical attacks (think canaries in coal mines), but the harsh desert conditions apparently did in all but one lonely chicken, so pigeons used instead...FACT

Rumored to have provided 2,000 monkeys to help clear minefields, but all roads lead to a Moroccan weekly, al-'Usbu' al-Siyassi and a UPI article (<http://www.upi.com/view.cfm?StoryID=20030324-064259-1443r>), so as of now....FICTION

Sources: President George W. Bush, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/raq/news/20030327-10.html>; US Department of State, press release, usinfo.state.gov; Steve Schifferes, BBC News; Robin Wright, LA Times; Richard Beeston, Times Online; Human Rights Watch, www.hrw.org; Global Exchange, <http://www.globalexchange.org/>; cricri.com.au; CIA, www.cia.gov; Asia Times; CBS News; Reuters, www.reuters.com; Boston Globe Online, www.boston.com; Washington Post; The New York Times, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/18/business/worldbusiness/18CND-POLAND.html>; Federation of American Scientists, www.fas.org; Center for International Policy, www.ciponline.org; www.un.org; Michael Freedman, Forbes, <http://www.forbes.com/2003/03/20/czmf0320foreignaid.html?partner=cmp>; Christian Spillmann, Agence France-Presse (via ClariNet); Barbara Slavin, USA Today, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2003-02-24-unwilling-coverx.htm>; Michael Doyle, Sacramento Bee, <http://www.sacbee.com/24hour/specialreports/iraq/bee/story/6320967p-7274359c.html>; Government of Uganda webpage, <http://www.government.go.ug/>; UPI, <http://www.upi.com/view.cfm?StoryID=20030324-064259-1443r>



The Neoliberal Noose Hanging Nicaragua

by Meghan Krausch



Meghan is a grown-up who lives in Urbana. Likes: social justice, abortion, democracy. Dislikes: American hegemony, birds.

MANAGUA, MARCH 10, 2003. I sat and watched Claudia, a small pregnant woman of about twenty with two children at home. After asking how and why she had refused a large bribe from her former employer, Yu Jin, I realized the answer was obvious. Without hesitation, Claudia answered, "If we take the money, they will never recognize our dignity or our rights."

Claudia is a member of the Nicaraguan labor movement who has spent the past four months struggling to regain her maquila job sewing clothes for American consumers. She and other workers were fired for attempting to organize a union. It was only once a campaign was begun to demand that the fired workers be rehired that Yu Jin, an apparel factory in the Saratoga Free Trade Zone, offered Claudia severance pay — an amount it would take her about nine months to earn. Claudia informed me, however, that there was no question in her mind about taking the money. She simply didn't even take into consideration what an amount like that would mean to her.

My host mother in Managua showing off her pet bird.



THE COST OF WORKING

Union busting is not an uncommon practice in Nicaragua, where maquilas (large, hot factories where line workers are under continual pressure to increase their output) employ about 60,000 people in a population of 5 million. Nor are workers who feel their human dignity violated rare. Claudia told us that she and the other workers in her factory, almost all women, are often patted down when leaving the building, even though there would be no reason for them to steal pieces of cut fabric or other materials. While most maquila workers are women, most guards are not.

I went to Managua as part of a Witness for Peace delegation with a group from United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) — I expected to hear stories like Claudia's. After I spoke with Claudia, a twenty-two year-old member of my host family, Mary, told us about how she used to work 7 AM-9 PM Monday through Friday with only a thirty-minute lunch break and a fifteen-minute dinner break. She explained that her boss had often berated her as a caballa [horse], and that there was no soap or toilet paper supplied in the company bathrooms.

What I didn't expect from my trip to Nicaragua was for such a clear picture to emerge. Although I learned many things about the grays of life in a "third world" country — not every maquila worker is poor, not every poor person is unhappy, many people do have high school or even college educations — I also learned how startlingly black and white international power dynamics can seem when viewed through the bottom-up lens.



The daily minimum wage for a worker in a Free Trade Zone is \$33 Cordobas (US \$2.20). This is the amount of rice, beans, and oil that \$33 Cordobas will purchase to feed the average family of six.

THE LEGACY OF IMPERIALISM

Nicaragua has been struggling under the yoke of colonialism (now called "foreign intervention") since the Spaniards invaded Central America in Columbus's wake. In the past two centuries, though, the United States has been primarily responsible for enslaving Nicaragua in the service of Western capital.

In 1855, only thirty-four years after Nicaragua's independence from Spain, an American named William Walker invaded Nicaragua and declared himself the head of state. It didn't last long. In the 1920s and 1930s, U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua. And in the 1980s, as we all know, the U.S. government funded the Contra rebels in a war against the Sandinistas, the socialists who had driven U.S.-supported dictator Anastasio Somoza from power in 1979. The Contra war ended only in 1990, when Violeta Chamorro was elected president under heavy political pressure from the United States.



The new Nicaraguan presidential palace, built with money from the Taiwanese government. Taiwanese companies run most of the apparel factories in Nicaragua.

THE REALITY OF IMPERIALISM

Currently, Nicaragua's external debt totals U.S.\$6.6 billion. Nicaragua's annual GDP is only U.S.\$2.15 billion. Nicaragua will pay \$225 million this year just to service this debt, meaning that it will spend that amount of money simply in order to make the minimum interest payments necessary to borrow more money from institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Loans come with strings. Most IMF and World Bank loans are given only with coerced agreements from the recipient countries to implement structural adjustment policies or SAPs. The idea behind SAPs is that economists at the IMF are in a position to advise countries like Nicaragua on how to best use their loan money. Nicaragua must do its best to follow the SAPs in order to remain eligible for the next loan. In theory, it makes sense in a global economy to encourage fiscal responsibility in other countries. But who elected the economists at the IMF to be responsible for making Nicaragua's budget decisions? Shouldn't budget priorities be set by the citizens of a democratic nation?

The budget writing process for 2003 is a good indicator of the relationship between SAPs, democracy, and the welfare of Nicaraguans. The Nicaraguan government will spend about 23% of its budget paying off old loans—the same amount that it will spend on education and health care combined. After a draft of the 2003 budget had been approved by the IMF advisors, Nicaragua's National Assembly increased the fiscal deficit spending in the budget by 1% of the 2003 GDP (gross domestic product) and expanded the government tax base. Since the IMF had capped deficit spending in the budget at 6.3% of the GDP, and expansion of the tax base isn't in the IMF development model, the IMF was unhappy with the increase and sent a delegation to Nicaragua. This delegation was widely interpreted as threatening the National Assembly with the withholding of future loans if the original, IMF-approved budget was not passed. The National Assembly, a democratically elected representative body, decided to pass the original budget set by the IMF instead of what Nicaraguans' own officials thought was better for their country.

SAPs are more than just spending priorities. They also mandate privatization of most, if not all, state-owned property. According to neoliberal economists, state-run agencies are inefficient. But private companies, especially foreign ones, haven't proven any more efficient from the perspective of the Nicaraguan people.



The view from the town of Matagalpa.

LIGHTS OUT?

Union Fenosa, the Spanish transnational company that bought Nicaragua's national electric company has raised electricity rates drastically in order to increase the efficiency of the company. The raise was so drastic that many Nicaraguans (and some government agencies) can no longer afford to buy electricity. For a family living on \$600 Cordobas a month — minimum wage for policemen and teachers — electricity amounts to about 76% of their income. Furthermore, a private company has no incentive to provide electricity and services to those who are unlike-



ly to pay the bill. According to Carlos Pacheco, a Nicaraguan economist, the situation got so out of hand that Union Fenosa cut the power to a branch of the Nicaraguan government that hadn't paid its bill—the branch that is responsible for monitoring the seismic activity in the region.

Privatization encourages a government to sell the few assets it has. By selling the electric company, Nicaragua lost one of its most reliable sources of revenue, and many people lost their jobs as a result of the government's attempt to make the company more saleable. Even after these measures, the company was sold to Union Fenosa at rock bottom prices.



Two women worker-owners explaining an alternative development project, the Women's Sewing Cooperative at the Jubilee House in Ciudad Sandino.

ROB THE POOR TO FEED THE RICH

So why does the IMF keep encouraging privatization and other measures if they aren't helping Nicaraguans? Because the policies aren't intended to help Nicaraguans. IMF policies are helping the countries whose investors are able to come into Nicaragua and make a fortune by selling utility services. They're helping the international financial institutions get back some of their loan money by providing governments with quick cash. Most of all, they're helping to ensure the world economic status quo.

In 1987, the World Court ruled that the United States owed Nicaragua \$17 billion dollars in damages for mining Nicaragua's harbors. The United States does not recognize the jurisdiction of the World Court, so it has never recognized that debt. U.S.-backed Chamorro agreed to abandon Nicaragua's claim to the money in exchange for loans and other aid. So why does Nicaragua owe the United States and international financial institutions billions of dollars in aid spent trying to recover from the damage inflicted by a U.S. invasion in the 1920s, a U.S.-funded war in the 1980s, and policies imposed by U.S.-led institutions?

For more information, see *Witness for Peace* at www.witnessforpeace.org; *Nicaragua Network* at www.nicanet.org; and the *Wisconsin Coordinating Council on Nicaragua* at www.wccnca.org. If you are interested in things you can do, please contact me at meghan_krausch@hotmail.com.

HUMAN RIGHTS



Local CU Residents Protest Monsanto's Involvement in Colombia Spraying

by Melissa Villegas & Demian Kogan

ON MONDAY, MARCH 24, 2003, seventy-four activists rallied in front of Monsanto headquarters wielding signs and chanting to end the aerial fumigation in Colombia. Seven Champaign-Urbana community members, including five University of Illinois students, made the trip to St. Louis to participate in the day-long action in protest of the use of Roundup herbicide, the chemical manufactured by Monsanto and used to fumigate Colombian coca crops.

Colombia Mobilization, a national organization that works to transform US policy in Colombia, coordinated the protest. The weekend of action was a two-day event, comprised of a teach-in the first day discussing Monsanto's role in Colombian issues, followed by the protest the following day.

"The situation in Colombia is atrocious. The US justifies its stance in Colombia with the 'War on Drugs' rhetoric. It is a War on Drugs, but it is an unjust and inadequately appropriated war," said Kenneth Okeke, senior in economics and international studies who attended the protest.

LOCAL PROGRESSIVE ACTION

The U of I students who attended the protest are members of the UIUC School of the Americas Watch (UIUC SOAW) and the Latin American issues committee of the University's Amnesty International group.

"Our group specifically focuses on Colombia issues and closing of the School of the Americas/Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (SOA/WHISC). We focus on Colombia because at this time the largest percentage

of students attending SOA/WHISC are brought from Colombia. We participate in the annual protest at Ft. Benning (Georgia, where the SOA is located) and attend events organized by Colombia Mobilization in the spring semester," said graduate student and coordinator of UIUC SOAW Stephanie Crandall.

The SOA is responsible for the training of many Latin American soldiers who orchestrate some of the worst human rights violations in the region. Last spring, the group attended the national Colombia Mobilization protest in Washington, DC.

DELETERIOUS EFFECTS OF FUMIGATION

According to Don Fitz, the executive director for Gateway Green Education and one of the speakers at the teach-in, Roundup is being sprayed in massive amounts on the fields of Colombia under the guise of eradicating the coca plant from which cocaine is obtained. It was found that glyphosate – the main ingredient in Roundup – is hundreds of times more toxic to fish and invertebrates as compared to people. The fumigation process also results in "drifting" of the chemical upon food crops, exacerbating the process of starvation occurring in Colombia.

According to Jess Hunter, who spent four years with a Witness for Peace delegation in Colombia and who has done extensive research on the effects of fumigation on Colombian farmers, several deaths have been reported as a consequence of herbicide exposure directly resulting from the US-initiated fumigation policy. Also connected with the fumigations are incidents of rashes and blisters appearing on children's feet who had been playing on sprayed land.

"The fumigation process is failing," Hunter said.

Farmers who manually eradicate their coca crop are getting fumigated anyway. Ways have been found to thwart the eradication campaigns. Sprayed coca can sim-

ply be cut at the root and will re-grow. A certain type of honey, known as Miel de Pulga (honey of the flea), can be applied to the plant before it is fumigated, and the herbicide will simply roll off the plant rendering it ineffective. Hunter also stated that the fumigation contributes to hunger and malnutrition via fumigation of food crops.

During the nonviolent daylong protest, speakers focused on the detrimental effects of fumigation on the health and well being of the Colombian people. Between speakers were songs and chants of solidarity. Protesters lined the road holding signs reading "End Fumigation," "Stop the ChemiKILLS," "Fumigation is Chemical Warfare," and "Hey Monsanto Complicity Guilty Too." Passing vehicles honked horns in support. At one point, the organizers placed a large wooden sign covering the official Monsanto sign that read "Monsanto Chemical Warfare Division," in reference to the damaging effects that Roundup has inflicted on the Colombian people.

WHAT COLOMBIA NEEDS (NOT MORE GUNS)

According to Peter Clark, a Senior Associate for Advocacy and Public Education at the US Office of Colombia (USOC, a progressive non-governmental organization) and another speaker at the Monsanto protest, as a result of Plan Colombia – the \$1.3 billion yearly military aid

"This is as brutal and immoral as any war," Zarate-Laun explains.

In her speech, she presented an overhead transparency with a quote from May 2, 2000 by then-President Bill Clinton to a group of business executives.

"When we have an opportunity like the [Free Trade Area of the Americas], we have to take it. And when we have a challenge like the challenge of Colombia, we have to meet it. But we need all your help. We need to win in Colombia. We have to win the fight for the FTAA. We have to prove that freedom and free markets go hand in hand." This shows the connection between the "War on Drugs" and neo-liberal free trade aspirations.

DIRECT ACTION IN ST. LOUIS

The protest culminated in a nonviolent direct action in which three protesters, dressed in white disposable hazardous material suits, demanded access to Monsanto headquarters to seek out the damaging chemicals and any receipts of purchase between the US government and the



corporation. The suits had three letters stitched onto the back: "C.I.T." representing "Civilian Inspection Team", in reference to the right of civilians to know if there are hazardous materials which could potentially be made into weapons present at the facility. After given three warnings to back off the property, the three were handcuffed and arrested by the waiting

police for their action. Fellow protesters sang and clapped in support of their actions.

AFFILIATED ACTIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

While Monsanto was targeted in the Midwest, several other regional demonstrations simultaneously occurred. Across the US, protesters also gathered at the corporate headquarters of Occidental Petroleum, Coca-Cola and UTC Sikorsky to bring light to the unethical and horrendous direct and indirect acts that these corporations are undertaking to benefit from the US funded war in Colombia. As people in Atlanta spoke out against Coca-Cola's anti-union policies in Colombia, the people of Hartford, Connecticut expressed their opposition to UTC Sikorsky's involvement of weapon contributions to the Colombian military. On the West Coast, people gathered in Los Angeles to protest Occidental's defense of their pipeline in Colombia at any cost.

IN THE FUTURE

"UIUC SOAW will continue addressing this issue in the years to come. Strategies we plan to incorporate include attending the annual protests in Fort Benning, Georgia and holding teach-ins to the public about our experience and what was accomplished. Mobilization is key, especially amongst the US student population, in riding the world of the SOA," said Okeke.

Because the fumigation and US policy is unlikely drastically change within the next year, UIUC SOAW will continue to adamantly work on the Colombian issue until change is realized.

"I would like to think in future years that UIUC SOAW will focus on closing SOA/WHISC until that base is closed and justice is served. And when that is accomplished, hopefully the group will continue to fight for justice throughout Latin American countries for both tragedies of the past and those that still occur today," said Crandall.



L: Members of the "Chemical Weapons Inspection Team". R: Protestors line the street.

package to the region – there are currently a total of 400 US soldiers in Colombia today. President Bush also recently requested an additional \$530 million for the Colombian military in the upcoming year. Thus far, the US has spent \$2 billion on Colombia, yet the money could much more efficiently be used in a better policy based on alternative development.

The farmers have no source of a lucrative crop aside from the coca plant. Colombia needs social and economic aid with encouraged crop development as an alternative to coca. A domestic policy based on treatment of drug use should be applied in the US. Treatment has been found to be twenty-three times more effective in stopping drug use than targeting the source.

Examining an econometric analysis of coca eradication policy in Colombia provides an estimated statistical model of coca production in the country. "Results from this model have proven coca eradication as an ineffective means of supply control," said Okeke. "For every plot of land, farmers would have a greater incentive to cultivate coca rather than some legal crop because they receive greater capital returns. The US should reallocate funds from Plan Colombia and use that to set up export subsidies for legal crops harvested in Colombia. There has to exist some incentive for the Colombian peasant farmer to grow legal crops and not rely on greater income present from drug trafficking."

THE GLOBALIZATION CONNECTION

Cecilia Zarate-Laun, who works with the Colombia Support Network and who has visited Colombian communities on several occasions to witness the effects of fumigation, also spoke. According to Zarate-Laun, the drug war has become a trade war to facilitate the process of globalization. She has seen the tie between this drug war and the ambition of the US to play a greater role economically in Colombia.

IMC Capital Campaign for Permanent Home

by Mike Lehman

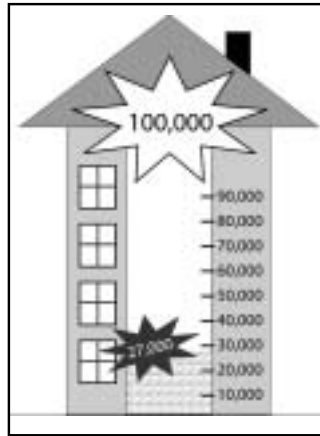
THE URBANA-CHAMPAIGN INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER recently kicked off its Capital Campaign to raise funds to purchase a permanent home for its independent media and arts programs. Since its founding in the fall of 2000, the UCIMC has outgrown our original meeting space, a large living room, where it was decided that a public space was a necessity for our vision of the IMC as a community center. In January 2001, the UCIMC opened in its present location at 218 West Main Street in downtown Urbana. Just over a year ago, the Back Room at the IMC was opened, followed by the remodeled Gallery at the New Year, to provide space for performing arts and to accommodate the growing demands for accessible, artist-friendly community space. Of course, we continue with our original mission, putting media production resources in the hands of the community via the *Public i*, our website (www.ucimc.org), radio and video production facilities, and programs that utilize WEFT 90.1FM and cable access to serve our diverse community.

The IMC is a financial success, bringing in enough money every month to sustain the many programs mentioned above. As IMC membership has continued to grow, stabilizing IMC finances through the purchase of our own space has become an important goal in order to build financial equity and independence to better serve the IMC membership along with the

community. We have not settled on a new home, yet, although there are a number of properties that could serve our ongoing programs and give us space for the expansive and explosive growth that the IMC is undergoing even as this is written.

A space of this size doesn't come cheap. We would like to at least double the space currently available, a requirement that implies an investment of between \$250,000 and \$400,000. Thus we have set a goal of raising \$100,000 by December 31, 2003 to provide a twenty percent down payment, along with a reserve fund for needed modifications and repairs to ready the building for use as an IMC.

Our idea of a permanent home for the IMC has captured the imagination of our membership, inspiring initial donations of \$7,000 from them, along with another \$6,000 in pledges. A generous and visionary anonymous donor raised the ante by making a grant of \$20,000, to be used for matching funds. With \$27,000 in our Capital Campaign Fund,



Founding Funder Zachary Miller just added another \$5,000 pledge, bringing this crucial fundraising campaign nearly one-third of the way to our goal of \$100,000 on deposit in our Capital Campaign Fund by December 31. To this point, the Capital Campaign has operated informally, but an IMC Capital Campaign Committee is now putting into action a plan for systematic outreach to the community to raise the remaining funds needed to achieve our goal of a permanent home for the UCIMC.

If you would like to make a donation to the UC IMC Capital Campaign, know of someone who might be interested in donating, or want to get involved in the Campaign, please send an email to

Sascha Meinrath at sascha@ucimc.org, or call him at 344-0183. All donations identified as Capital Campaign Funds are dedicated solely to the purpose of purchasing and improving property for a permanent home for the UCIMC. The UCIMC is a 501c3 non-profit and all donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law and your tax status.

Poem: Untitled

by Meg Miner

Meg Miner says she is an advocate for democratic ideals (the ones we say we believe in, not the ones we thrust on others); a patriot scorned; a librarian; a working class woman, and a retired Air Force jet engine mechanic.

On North Prospect Avenue
Disembodied flags floating above Prospect
What prospects are there for those facing them?
What do they mean?
Looming, warning, "How dare you forget" – they say
I didn't forget
And hey, that's my flag, too.
"Bought with patriots' blood" – they say
Bought, yes, bought. Remember?
not rented
not leased to the highest bidder (for a limited time only),
only to be cleaned, repackaged, ready to be bought again

"When did it become weaponized?" – I ask
When wasn't it? – witnesses to its meaning reply

Red = hardiness & valour *
Listen to someone from My Lai
Listen to a bashed queer
Disembodied flags undulating
dis-remembering dis-membering
and the writhing bodies as they fell
Disembodied flags floating – no staff seen at night. You know it's there, though
That slanted crane, maybe a spine, a tether, a line, reeling the eager eel in.
"Got to have cranes to lift our Glory high. Heavy stuff, that righteous loyalty is" – they say
Heavy, hmm. Weighted down with dis-embodied patriots? Dis-emboweled martyrs?
Long dis-missed heroes.

White = purity and innocence *
Listen to a Black American
Listen to a farmer in Columbia
Disembodied flags dis-engaged from reality
Disregard truth, spotlighting only the past we want to believe
Disgust with distrust.
Read about the School of the Americas? Why did the name change?

Blue = vigilance, perseverance & justice *
Listen to a non-white, non-Christian these days
Listen to a Native American any day
Dis-embodied flag, dis-avowed from its ideals
Bright beacon, new immigrants' hope
now leering, menacing, "No room for more! So sorry, do try again!"
Old immigrants' hope got our families here ...
just in time

Old Glory
Listen to a Gold Star Mom
Listen to an orphaned child
Old, yes, old. Glories? Stories?
"We saved their butts in Europe. How could they be so ungrateful?"
Glories, yes, resting on their ...
Laurels ... gathered from fields filled with heroes in distant lands.
We did not demand an Oath of Fealty. That is not our way.
Or it's not supposed to be.

What glories now?
Forcibly liberated emaciated bruised beaten dysentery-infected people ...
just as soon as it was in our interest to do so.
"How could those A-rabs be so ungrateful. They must have our ideals."
And tough love for dis-loyal dissenters.

Old? Yes, old. Everlasting.
Gory Glory.
So when it is your loved one, dead for the cause, you can be sure you will get one
A flag of your very own,
made by a dollar-a-day laborer we delivered from oppression and into the hands of ... Wal-Mart

Yes, you'll get your very own flag,
resting lightly over your love
Cut loose from crooked spine,
folded slowly, pressed gently, now, to your breast, paid for again once.
No longer weaponized, cushioning your pain

Old Glories
Listen to a hero
Listen to a martyr
And when soldiers who can, do march home ...
"Whew, that was tough. Lucky thing we were in the right" – the Prospect patriots will say
How will this gift, this symbol of our gratitude, your take-home token of respect compare to the loving glance,
the warm touch,
that came from your hero,
who fought their martyr?
Will you hoist it? Encase it and dust it off for generations? Pack it away, too horrible to contemplate?
"No matter, we'll make more – war is good for the economy."

And there are our prospects – cleaned, repackaged and ready to be bought again.
To float, disembodied,
close to faintly gleaming staff
Once more,
dis-remembering all dis-membering
Still looming,
not quite benignly in the dark

* definitions from www.usflag.org

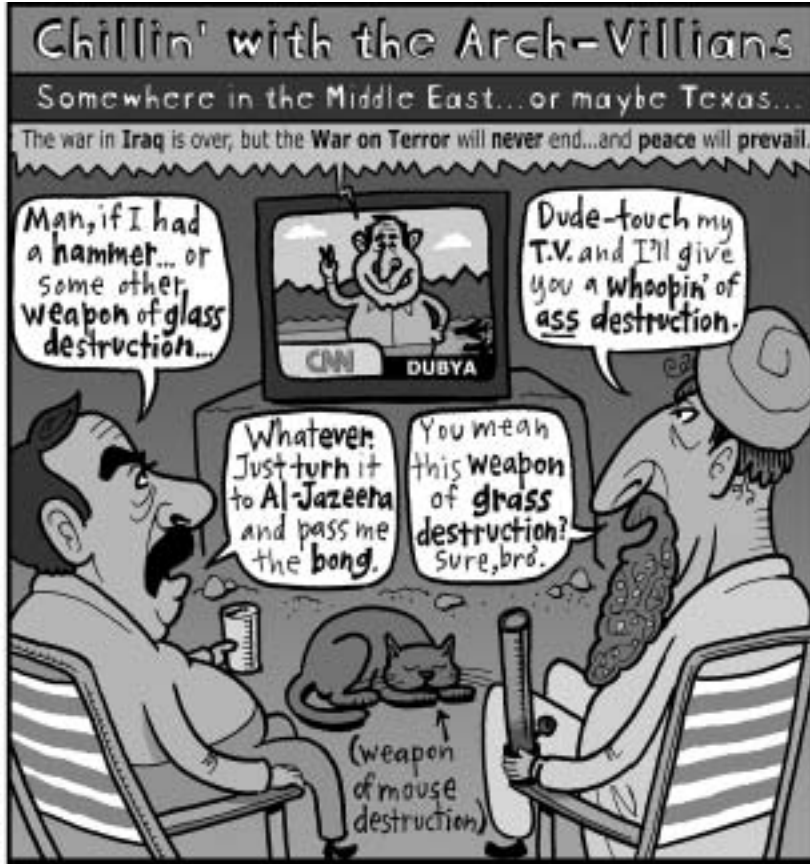
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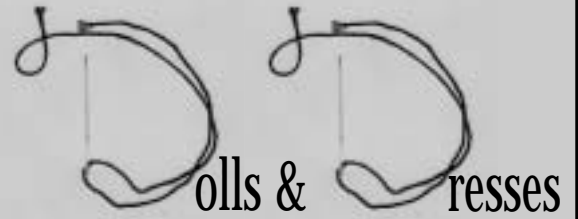
CHANNEL



BY 05
DR 04
DA 03



Call for Entries



A Group Show
Middle Room Gallery, IMC, 218 W. Main, Urbana
June 7 - June 30

Opening Reception June 7, 7-9pm

Contact Sandra to submit entries
367-6345, spiritofsandra@hotmail.com

ReGULAR eVenTs @ the iMC

Open Stage Cabaret, Thursdays 8-10pm
Yoga Classes, Wednesdays 5-7pm
A.W.A.R.E. Meetings, Sundays 5pm-7pm
Prairie Greens, 1st & 3rd Wednesdays 7-8pm

MeETINGS @ the iMC

Steering Group - Wednesdays 8pm
Librarians - Tuesdays 8pm
Finance - 1st & 3rd Wednesdays 7:00pm
Print - Thursdays 5:15pm
Shows - Thursdays 7:00pm
Video - Tuesdays, 7:30pm
Web - 2nd & 4th Wednesdays, 7:30pm

SPeCial eVenTs @ the iMC

SATURDAY, MAY 3 4PM-6PM
IMC Zine Reading II

SATURDAY, MAY 3
Middle Room Gallery:
Art Opening for Julie Guyot; 7pm-9pm

SATURDAY, MAY 3
Shows Group PA Training; contact zcmshows@ucimc.org to schedule a lesson. 1pm-3pm.

SUNDAY, MAY 4 4PM-6PM
Film: A Force More Powerful
A film about the use of nonviolence during the civil rights movement. Sponsored by AWARE.

shOWs @ the iMC

<http://www.shows.ucimc.org>

All shows begin at 8pm unless otherwise noted.
FRIDAY, MAY 9 8PM
Buzzards, Skeletons, Scotland Yard Gospel Choir, Lucky Mulholland
Indie Rock

SATURDAY, MAY 10 8PM
Everybody Uh Oh, Written in the Sand, Books on Tape [Chicago], Monk
Indie Rock

SATURDAY, MAY 17 8PM
Words That Burn, Uniform Pants, Skullcrusher, Hollowed Out
Hardcore Punk

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21 8PM
Intense Youth
Hardcore Punk:

SATURDAY, MAY 24 8PM
IMC Folk Music Series: Ellen Rosner with G. Lee and Jet Blonde
Acoustic Indie Rockers

SUNDAY, MAY 25 8PM
Noise show

FRIDAY, MAY 30 8PM
The Skeleton Dance
Goth DJ Dance Night

SATURDAY, MAY 31 8PM
IMC Shows Group Benefit Show

MONDAY, JUNE 2 8PM
Bitch and Animal
Punky Queer Pussy Manifesting Performance Tribal Folk Improvisation from Ani DiFranco's Righteous Babe Label. This is a must see show. Advance tickets are available at Record Service.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6 8PM
Q and Not U, French Toast, The Dynamo Theorem
Q and Not U (Dischord Records) will tour in support of their new record *Different Damage*. This date is a makeup for the April 14 date, which was cancelled.

This show also features **French Toast** (w/James Cauty of the Make-Up and The Nation of Ulysses) and locals **The Dynamo Theorem**.

The Middle Room Gallery @ the iMC, 218 W. Main

Julie Guyot, an exhibition of recent works
May 3rd - May 30th
Opening reception May 3, 7-9pm

"I am interested in the tedium of our days. Most of us are required to perform the same tasks day after day. This can become boring and monotonous and sometimes even lead to feelings of depression and hopelessness. We feel so stuck in what we think we have to do that we are unable to see the beauty in our work or our surroundings. Sometimes we become so focused on one small repetitive element that we fail to take a step back and witness the beauty of the collection of those components.

These are my days. this is my collection. I work spontaneously and intuitively, usually without sketches or detailed plans. I experiment. I play. I stitch, stain, dye, rip, wrap, and cast materials. Although this work contains a sense of history, it is important to realize that these works are not found objects. Although a few components have been acquired, these pieces have been distressed, used, weathered and discarded, leaving the memory of what they once protected."

